3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process. [121]

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *Pah'-šamel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *Pa'ŝel*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *muyuhkil*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1967), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) uses the formula of fear and anger as the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

"Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

FIG. 197.—Toniná, Chis. Monument 7-7.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

amazing industries in the world. In addition, most men own smooth-bore flint-lock muskets, a few having progressed to percussion caps. The bow and arrow occurs occasionally as a child's toy.

The Bachajon men dress in cotton clothing, made of material bought in Ocosingo, or, more rarely, of home weave (fig. 284). The shirt is cut without tails, the trousers are of European type save that they tie with a string and have no buttons. Ordinarily they are worn rolled up above the knee. Over the trousers is worn a sash of native weave, red with fringed ends, and often decorated with black and yellow design in lines, sometimes forming a plaid effect. The sash is wound around, crossing in front, then turned back on itself, and the ends tucked under behind, so that they hang down below the shirt (fig. 285).

FIG. 284—El Encanto, Chis. A Bachajon Medicine Man.

Shirts of native weave occasionally have fine coloured lines running through them. The opening, which runs about two-thirds of the way down the front, the cuffs, and the seams at the shoulders may be decorated with very simple stitching. Down the front is a row of small buttons, coloured if possible, not all of which are for use. The most admired arrangement seems to be an alternation, such as red, black, white, repeated, although cases were observed in which no two were alike. These buttons are bought at the stores.

Sandals, *tep*, are ordinarily of leather, a thick sole with simple heel-toe string and loop. The leather is usually bought ready-cut. Formerly they were made of *mahagua* bast wicker-work, in form corresponding to that found in Basket-Maker sites of the Southwestern United States,* and these are still occasionally woven. The finest specimens are dyed red with a bark. Bast sandals are called *canak* (fig. 286).

*Kidder and Guernsey, 1919, Page 180 et seq.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

did not like it and ran away. His place was taken by a younger man, Nicholas Cardon Niqol (the third names appear to be nicknames), but too much time had been lost to accomplish a great deal.

In the printed lists, preference has been given to the first-named informant in each dialect, although when the variation is considerable, both versions are set down.

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YUCATAN	CHONTAL
Abeja	tcanal-tcap tcap-tcul-tat-tik	yûm -tcap mu-yum olokte	tcupim
abuela	tcutcux tcutcun-el	kE-mim pan'ocip	ka-mam
abuelo	tat-mam-al (father-old-the)	kE-mop	ka-mam
agrio	bax	amuh-ba'*	pa
agua	ha'	ha'	ha
aguacero	tulan-ha-al (strong water)	no-ha (big water)	
alacrán	tsek	sina'	sina'
aliento			ik
alma	lap	pican	
alto	toyol	diski	iski
amarillo	k'an	kun	k'an
amo		yum	
andar	be-el	cuma'a ya-kE-te†	te camba
animal	tcam-ba'lam	Eluk'i	tcitam
año	hun hab-il hab sin-il	hun hap (future) hun habi (past)	
aquí	liil	nida[n]	
araña	ām	t'oi	ah-toi‡
árbol	te	te	hun tsit-te
arcilla	tcav-ek lum (beeswax-earth)		
arco	timal-te yalab	wun-te	
cuerda del arco	ahci'al		
ardilla	tcutc	tcutc	ictcutc
arroyo	ukum	sañ-ha'	
asiento		tcumlip	tcunlip
áspero		ketscn	
atole		mats	mats
aya		nant'i	

*amuh, amo-, or amox-, appearing in various adjectives, means very.
†In many verbs the informants gave the first person singular, present form. This may be detected by the pronominal kE. See Appendix III.
‡ah = the definite article.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
baile			ahk'out
barba	kisim	kE-tsuktik	tsutsti
balsa	poi		
banda		ku'tcinuk	
barca		no-hukup (big canoe)	
bastante	bisel	kŏčn	
blanco	tsak	tsuk	suk
blando		la'am / pukum	laam
bobo		tsitsuk	
boca	kŏ	kE-ti'	ati
bonito		pital'	
mujer			goodo ke pokem novicik
bosque	mukul hamal (big woods)		
brasero		pulvĕnip	nitci kak
brazo	kap	kE-kup	kab
brujo	poci'	atsak'	ah tsataya (sacerdote indio)
	iluxhom		
bueno	lek	uts	uts
está b-	lek-ai (good-there ir)	uta-an (good-there is)	
buho	koOts	buhup	ah-hu
caballo	tsemen	tsimin	
cabello		kE-tsuk	tsuk
cabeza	hol	kE-pam	ka-pam
caer			ta yelo
calabaza	tcum	tcum	tcum
calavera	sbak-el-hol-al	pama-tcim'i / k'an	a-tcime
caliente	klicin	tiko'b	tiku
cama	waix-yiv-el	nutc	tsen
camino	be	bii	bi
camisa		buk	
campo	huta-kin / akiltik	ñam	campa
cangrejo	nĕp	aiy'uc	yue
caña	qwahale	ci	oh
caoba		atsutso	tsutsub
carne	bak	uye'e / bekta	vee
casa	na'	otOt	otot
casas		otOte	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
cayuco	*cayuca*	kûkûp	hukub
cazar	muts-umihel	kola-tute'he (let us go hunting)	ya-ka-ce-te-lo-tolña (now I go hunting)
ceniza	tan	tsitañ	tsitan
cerca	hoŏpol	hEtsûk	natsa
cerro	wits	wits	
ciego	tupen-tsit	'ahtcOk'	{trok-uhui / atcuk
cielo	tc'utcan	*cielo*	*cielo*
ciervo		tcimai	tcimai
cojo			{tcunnyok / petcOk
cola		nc	ne
colgar		kE-tcoi-kE-tce (I-hang-I-do)	ka-tcu-ka-tce
collar		yentac	
comer		ko-yic	kostekucka
concha	puix	{petak / tOt	
conejo	t'ul	a'-tûl	ab-tul
corazón	kŭtan	kEyo-pican	{ka-halin / pusika
correr	axnimal	ya-kE-tce'-tuañkre	
coser	espanyĕl	tcuwi'	
cuerpo	wink-ilel (man-entire)	kE-*cuerpo*	ka-*cuerpo*
culebra	tcan	tcañ	tcan
cuñada	bal	kE-mo'	
cuñado	bal	kE-n°an	
curar			ta tsakalka
danta	tsemĕn	tc-el tsimin (woods beast)	
dar	aweyel		benet
débil	mankyip	mats-an-umuk (not-has-force)	pue-tcem
dedo		kE-nikûp	nikab
todos los d- d- del pie	lalatak	kE-petc'kûp	
		kE-niOk	
día	k'akal	k'in	
diablo		kwo'tak	manap
diente	ke	ke	ke
molares		kE-tcaam	muela
dios	tcun-tat-tik *dios* (our-father-of-us-all)	kEn-yum-la *dios* (our-master-of-us-all)	o-yum-kab

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	TZOTZIL	CHONTAL
dormir	waixy-el	te-weye	ta-vaye
dulce	tcab	tsa	tcab
duro		mo Etsuts	tsuts
echar suertes			u yakti ik
que sabe e-	labil		
eclipse	makisit k'akal	mukutce kuwe-kin	{aitobni kin muku kuckan kin
elote	axhan	tcOk-icim	teok-na
enfermo	{tcamel (sickness) aix tcamel (he has sickness)	amo-nkohu'lun amon-kohu'lun	koHo
encantar	paku	ankotcuwen upican (force his soul)	tsataya
encanto		jyaan	ah tsataya
e- adentro de la laguna		ta-manap (*cf. diablo*)	
escoba		misip	misip
escopeta		tscomba'	
escribir	tsibabel	kE-tsivan-hom-taip	te-tsib
espalda		kopaat	tsumpat
espina	tcic	tcic	tcic
espinazo	{tcilc-pat mõtco-bakel	tsompat	ubuke tsampat
esposo		k-itõk	
esposa		k-itõk	
esqueleto	{tcicil-bak bak-el-etik		upete u-bak'e
estrella	õk'	ik	*lacero*
de mañana	talk	ab-no-ik* (the-big-star)	
vespertina		ab-no-ik*	
pleiades (?)		tcookõk (la que brilla)	
Ursa Major	cana-ek		
familia	{bisil te-kal te-kal-atak	{kE *familia* nata'ũn tok'up (nosotros todos)	
feo		mate-uts	poeyik
fiesta	k'in		
f- del santo (May 18, Bachajon)	kan-k'in		
flecha	{t'imal-te tu-te	wuh-te	
flor	nitcim	unitc	nic-te
frente		kE-pũl	{ka-tihut pũl

*"They say it is the same star." (i. e. Venus).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197 frijol	{tceneK / buul	{bu'um / bu'u	bō
frio	sik	sis	tsis
fruta	sit	tsahE	
fuego	k'ak	k'ak'	k'ak'
hacer f-	{wakEnuk k'ak / pas k'ak'	tcen-k'ak'	ka-tse-ve-k'ak'
fuente		huta	tcan
fuerte	tulan	amo-k'en-umuk'	pok'om
fuerza		ūmuk'	
gallina		piyuk	
ganado	gwakac (cow, Spanish)	pam-bcket (head-horned)	
gato	mis	mis	
gato montes	{t'el tcox / wac		
grande	mukul	{nok, nob, / lokōnok	noH
grano	tcic	hun-cim	
guaracha	{tep / tcahan	putcyok	
g- de cascara	canak		
hablar	k'op	{k'aan / tcen'-tan	te-t'an
hacer	pas-el	kE-tcen	
hermana mayor	{wic / gwic	kE-tcite	ka-tcite
h- menor	kitsin	kE-kita'in	ka-tcite
hermano mayor	bañk-il	kE-sukun	ka-sakun
h- menor	kitsin	{kE-kita'in / wita'in	k'itsin
hierro	*hierro*	pal'ip	
hija	atcic	kE-yōk-istcO'k	
hijo	nitcan	kE-yōk-haxlO'k	
hilo	*hilo*	pui'	
hombre	{winik / vinik	winik	vinik
hueso	bak-el	bak	bak
h- del tobillo		OkutkOk	
huipil		kamic	
huso	pētēt	pētēt	
iglesia		tcuuk	tcu *iglesia*
iguana	tOlōk	hū'	huh
incienso	pōm	pOm	pom
jarrete		tcu-telkin	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
jefe	yaxwhal	{anoha /kE-xhwca	{noh-van-vinik /nori-vinik
j- del pueblo		k-anoha-la tuwa-k'a (our-chief-of-us-all of-the-village)	
jicara	{tsima', kax /tuts	tup, buc	tup
j- (rattle)	{tcitcil /tsutsu	tcikic	
labrar (madera, etc.)	waluyel	pûl	
lagarto	aihyin	Ehin	ahin
laguna	mukul-ha'	nap	*laguna*
lanza	fisig'a (?)	stcik-te	*lanza*
l- para pescados		tceki'biye	
lejos	lum-namal	muhnaat	pwenat
lengua	kak'	kE-ak	ka-ak
la l-, (idoma)	ts'eltal	yoko'tan	
leon	{tcambalam /tsax-hal-tcox (red-the-tiger)	tcimai bäl'um	bal'am
lia		sum	Hote
ligero	ma-waal (not-heavy)	scĕp	pwe sop
liso		ts'eyyum	
luna	uH(halalme-tik)	uhi	u
llano		nun-ham	
llever	itceltai-il		
lluvias (tiempo de)	{bayel-ka-haal /bayel-yac-stal-haal	{amo-ken-ha' /ha'-leltin	non-ha
madera	{te /te' eti	te'	te
madre	nan	na'	ka-na
maiz	icim	icim	icim
maléolo		kE-petcOk	
malo	ma-lĕk-uk	matc-uts	{kanic /mats-uts
hombre m-	{tcopal /malek-owotan (bad-his-heart)		
mañana (morning)	sakubal	isapan	ika sapan
mano	dyal-k'ap	kE-k'up	ka-pikab
mediodia	holi-kak'al	kEncin-k'in	
mente		kahalin	
mes	hun uh	hunpe-uhi*	

*Used for counting time of childbirth.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
miel	{axa-tcap, usum /tcap-tcul-tatik	te'ele tcap	tcap
mijiote		abalai'	
mono	mac	pūm	ah-pum
monte	hamal	bwulena	bwenala
mojado		atch	
muchacha	atcic	yok'telum	
muchacho	{kere /kerem	{yokhaxlOhk /ah-lohk	
mucho	bayel	amo-k'en	k'en
muerte	{talteamel /tca-winik	ah-tcimi	ah-tcami
mujer	ants	icik	icik
murcielago	tsOts	tsūts	sūts
muslo		kE-wOk	
muy		{amos /icta	
nadar		nu'ci	
naranja		arancus (Spanish)	
n- agrio		pahala	
nariz	ni	kE-ni'	ni'
negro	ik'	ik	ik
nieta		k'-umam	ka-tcok-mama
nieto		kE-bit-umam (pl.)	
niño pequeño	tut-alat	tcik'atcOk (que todavia son de pecho)	
noche	ak'abal	{ehak'Ek /ak'ūp	aitabni
norte	{kin haal /yaxtal-hale' (por sea viene el agua)	te-*norte*	
viento del n-		ben'dawal	
nuera		kE-hrip	
nuevo	{yatcil /tomut	{tcOk* /sihip†	tsihib
ofrenda	matamniil (gifts)	{cux'hiwa /atcumpom (first fruits)	hisi utci hunpe si
ojo	sit	{kE-pu'ut /hut	hut
olorosa		mahatsin'na	
olla	ōcom		
oreja	tc'ikin	kE-tcikin	tcikin

*For animals and human beings. †For inanimate objects.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
padre	tat	kE-pop	ka-pop
pájaro	mut	mut	mut
panacho		teim-pam	
pared	puk'	wOk'tcĕ	
pecho		kE-tokpa'	pantis
pequeño	tnt	tcOtcOk	tcitcok
persona	winik	untu-tcugha / untu-winik	winik
pava		nakmu'lup	
pavo		ahtsŏk	ahtso
perro	tsit	wi'tcuk	yitcu
pesado	ahl	amoh-al	al
pesendo	tcai	byiyc'to-ha'	maluh
pescuezo			lukub
p- en frente		kE-lukup	
p- por atras		kE-picte	
petate	pOp	pOp	pop
pie	kOk'	Ok	ok
piedra	ton	tun	tc'a
piel		putci'le	patcihi
pierna		kOk / kE-wOk	ka-vok
pito	amai	Emwi	
plata	tak'in	takin	
pluma	kŭkum	makup / vitc	maku
platano		haas	haas
poco	luunteb	tsintap	tsita
poniente	yaxubak-kaka-baitik	ko-pome-kin (where-sets-sun)	muku-pome-kin / baca-u-pome-kin
posole	mats	puhk'a	buka
primo	cavankil	kE-bitis'ă'	ka-pom
pulgar	sme-kap		noh-nikab
pulsera		teutcui-kup	
quemar	k'utcik k'akel	pulu'	tu-pule
quemo		kE-pule	
raton		tsuk	ictsuk
red	tcokhax	tcip	
redondo		pete	
relámpago	nixkel, tsantsegwal / kaka-tcauuk	ah-lemi-tcawŭk	tcavuk
rio	ha	*rio*	
rodilla		kE-tenek	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
• 192 rojo 197	tsak	tcuk / tcik	tcuk
saliente	yax-loke-kakal / hwantec-lok-teul-kakal (lok — risen teul — holy)	bicte-kin / ko-tuts-kin (where-rises-sun)	muku-pase-kin / baka-pase-kin
sangre	tciitc	tcitce'	tciitc
sapo	pokOk	mutc	ah-mutc
seco	takin	ti'k'in	tikin
el s-. tiempo	takin-huc / kepel-kinal	amo-tik'in	noh-kin
sembrar	tsunel	pEkE	tu pŭkŭb
semilla	tsumbul	ubčk	
sierras	*sierras*	tc-witś*	
sol	k'ak-al	kin	k'in
sombrero		hopo	hop'o
sopiar		hutstañ	
subir		kE-topsen	
suegra	meelnial	kE-noh-nak	
suegro	nial	k-itcan	k-itcan
sueño	wayel		
sur	nitaa-lan (here-below) / hwantec-otc-kakal	*sur*	
tabacco		kuts	
tambor	kayo'	kowčn	hoven
techo	hol-na'	hai-te'	te-can
techo de palma	can	can	
tejer	waluyel / holel	hŭ'lvwebe	
tejedor	holel	hElŭ	
tia	mehun	kE-tcitc (elder sister)	
tio	baxhun	kE-sukun (elder brother)	
tierra	lum	kaap	kab
tigre	tcox	ba'lum	ba'lam
tinaja	cip	Ots	pŭ
tirar (piedra)		la-kE-hulchi-tun	yak-ce-ka-Hulch
(escopeta)		kE-tcen-sombak	
(lanza)		kE-tcik-teen	
tortilla	gwax	dlaañ / gua' (all forms of cornbread)	va

*Really a directional term South. "Towards the Hills."

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
tortuga	ahk'	ak'	ak'
trueno	{stackwaiyel / aicwaiyel, t'om	{kweye / tcawûk*	tcavok*
tumbar (un arbol)		kE-yEsen	
uña (de hombre o de animal)		itcek	itchûk
verde	yac	yuc	yuc
vida	kucûl	anto-pican	halin†
viejo	{kaalic / mamal	{tcupin‡ / su'§	nohcib
viento	ik'	ik	ta ik'
volar	wixhlel	kE-wil'e	
yacer			ya ka-cacutce
yerno	bal	kE-ni'E[n]	
zaraguate	bats	aHwats	
1	hun	hun-pe¶	un-to
2	tcĕ-eb¶	tca'-pe	tca-to
3	oc-eb	uc'-pe	uc-to
4	tcan-eb	tcum'-pe	tcan-to
5	ho-eb	{hun'-ka (one hand) / no'pe	ho-to
6	hwak-eb	*seis*, etc., in Spanish	
7	huk-eb		
8	wacak-eb		
9	balun-eb		
10	lahun-eb		
11	bulutc-eb		
12	lastcai-yeb		
13	uc-lahun-eb		
14	tcan-lahun-eb		
15	ho-lahun-eb		
16	hwak-lahun-eb		
17	huk-lahun-eb		
18	wacak-lahun-eb		
19	balun-lahun-eb		
20	tab, tax.		
21	hun-ka-vinik		
30	lahun-is-tca-vinik		
40	tca-vinik		
50	ho-lahun-eb‖		
80	tcane-vinik		
100	hol-vinik		
400	bak		

*Cf. "Kelamparo."
†Cf. mente. ‡Used for animate beings. §Used for inanimate objects.
¶The suffix = "times."
‖Obviously an error, cf. 13.

[pp 479-484 contain no Tzeltal material]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

APPENDIX VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by SEÑOR AUREO CRUZ, of Toniná

TEXT I

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PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

Pas-a	*resib-il*	*yun**	*k-aHwal-tik*	
Do thou	accept (Sp. recibir)	in the name of	our guardian of us	
Dios	*tcul-ba-lum-milal*†	*bin*	*la-ta*‡	*y*
God (of)	blessed the world	that which	found	and
bin	*ma-va-la-ta.*	*pas-a*	perdon	*yun*
that which	not was found.	do thou	forgive	in the name of
k-aHwal-tik	Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*	*tcitc'*
our guardian of us	God (of)		blessed the world	blood
bak'-et-al	*ham-al*	*k'-otan-tik*	*ham-al*	*ti'-tik*
of (?) bones the	open	our hearts of us	open	mouths of us
av-on	*te-lum-al*	*koltai-ya*	*haHwal*	
give me	health of the earth	free it (protect?)	kneeling (?)	
ha-mitcan				
thy son				

TEXT II

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TZELTAL CONVERSATION

hoon	*lok'-on*	*taz*		*lum-al*	*x-oon*	*ta'*
I	went out I	from	(my)	land the	went I	to
yan	*lum-etik*§	*ta'*	*yil-el*‖	*yan*	*lugarx-etik*	
other	lands	to	see	other	places	
y	*lak-il*‖	*s-na*		*es-etik*		*baiyel*
and	look at	their (?) houses		Old Ones ("los antiguos")		plenty

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*This was originally given *sok*, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to *yun*.
†The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-ba-* or *-milal*.
‡The root is *ta*, "come."
§*-etik*, or *-tik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
‖*-el* is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

571 192 601 551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

571 192 554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAK(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

[829]

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

[1156] Among other forms of the class is a series which represents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

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Other terms in the "role-name" class cannot conveniently be lumped under a descriptive head. Some might perhaps be labeled "occupational," but this would result in merely grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to the ethnographer. In this heterogeneous group are the following, all of which have the agentive prefix.

/H.KANAN+LUM/	"overseer of land"
/H.PRINSEPAL KRINSIPAL/	"principal, elder"
/H.GOBYERNO/	"governor (of the state)"
/H.ME*BAL/	"orphan"
/H.LO*LIWANEH/	"liar"

Another subgroup of terms lacks possessive or agentive prefixes, and these share the feature that the referents are persons outside the Indian community. These terms are the following:

/COHWER/	"driver"
/DOKTOR/	"doctor"
/DOKTOR+DENTISTA/	"dentist"
/KARPINTERA/	"carpenter"
/MASTRI/	"teacher"

Two other terms in this class are exceptions to the rule that requires the agentive prefix when possessed; /-*ANZ/, "woman," and /-WINIK/, "man," may be used with the possessive prefix alone,

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554 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband"
192 of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

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554 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is
192 modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers
621 /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policia" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "sindico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE~ *AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/— /*ALKAL/, "juez"

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621 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms [641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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794 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):

The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

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554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
192 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next low-
794 est set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/ "mayordomo of Todos Santos"

/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/ "mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/ "mayordomo of Santa Crus"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/ "mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/ "1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/ "2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutivgs (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

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554 /C'UL/ "holy" honorific titles used with
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192 /SENYOR/ "mister" role-names of the
/H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group

/YAN/ "other"

/NEK/ "big"

/SOLTERA/ "unmarried" used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)

/DON DONYA/ "mister mrs." used with names of ladinos

/NINYA/ "miss"

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192 Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

571 idea about the use of modifiers can be gained from a brief list
• 192 of examples. These examples are also illustrative of some of the complexity of personal reference in Aguacatenango.

/TE CAM MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/	"the late old Mr. Jose Gomez"
/MA TA(T) S-TA(T) CUS KAYTANO/	"old Mr. Jesus' father, Cayetano"
/H-MA KUMPRE S-TAT CEN/	"my old compadre, Cresencio's father"
/ME*L WIX PETRONA MENTES/	"old (elder sister) Petrona Mendez"
/S-ME*L *INAM/	"his old wife"
/ME*L ME* ZME* H.PINI/	"old Mrs. Delfina's mother"
/H-KUMPRE S-TAT KANT(E)LARYA	"my compadre, Candelario's father here above"
/BANKIL LUTERYO NUN TA *AHK'OL/	"(elder brother) Eleuterio here above"
/TATIK SINTIKO NUN TA *ALAN/	"Mr. Sindico there below"
/SENYOR *AHENTE/	"Mr. agente"
/MA DON MANWEL/	"old Don Manuel"

571 The patterns of social relationships are displayed in the order and arrangement of individuals in households and in the sets of role-names which frequently occur in the conversa-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is endogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

Table 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čiltal lik ʔilim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čiltal stekan snič (begins to form husk)		2 months
Bʼal tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lokʼil tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihil skʼabʼenal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lokʼil yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihiltal skʼanubil (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubil (more yellow)		
Tahkinil (dry)		
Skʼahik lokʼel (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean an end to all corn harvests.

Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1987) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the be-
128 havior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.

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TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes ya?bi ya?lel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hi? (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hi? (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hi? yu?un ben pikil (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hi? (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Ya?be ča? mel sk'ut • sok hi? (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba sna?an ta suhk sč'ute (Go set it on a board)

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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
3d day	3.	Ya slihkesbe hit' (Begin to make the base)
	3.1	Ya swol (Make a ball)
	3.2	Ya sčob (Work into it)
	3.3	Ya snakan te čuhte (Set it on a board)
	3.4	Ya skubeyit (Poke it)
	3.5	Ya slihk sbis mo?el (Begin to press it to rise)
	3.6	Ya snit mo'el (Pull it up [a process of pressing clay from inside pot against palm of hand and forcing clay upward])
	3.7	Ya stuisbe sti?il (Level; cut off edge)
	3.8	Ya sč'ewanbael (Lay it out)
	3.9	Ya sk'ehilel swai (Keep it while one sleeps)
4th day	4.	Ya?be stalbilum (Stick on clay on the base)
	4.1	Ya sb?al te lum yu?un ya tzak (Make a tube to stick on)
	4.2	Ya smakbe ?a (Cover over where it is stuck on)
	4.3	Ya šlič mo"el (Let it up)
	4.4	Ya sč'ulmoel (Make it rise by rubbing against hand on outside)
	4.5	Ya stuisbe sti?il (Cut off edge [evens it])
	4.6	Ya stalhilel hil swai (Let it stick overnight [some leave it for only 2 hours])
5th day	5.	Ya šyubmo?el (Raise the sides)
	5.1	Ya ya?be b?al lum (Give it a tube of clay)
	5.2	Ya tzak šyubmo?el (Stick it on sides making it rise)
	5.3	Ya ya?be sčuht (Make the belly [round out side walls])
	5.4	Sb'isbetal yutil (Smooth inside)
	5.5	Ma snuksba ya ya?be šan č'inuk (If it doesn't meet, make another piece)
	5.6	Tzak šan yu?un sčube sti?il (Stick on more to make it close at the mouth)
	5.7	Ya ya?i ba?a te ha? yei ya ya?be slumil yu?un pahal sila spimile (Feel where it is thin and give it more clay so it is same remains double)
	5.8	Lah šyubmo?el sk'ahilel šwai (After raising side leave overnight)
6th day	6.	Ya ya?be snuk' (Make the neck)
	6.1	Ya ya?be ya?lel sti?il yu?un skunubai tenaš ?a ta ya?be slam yit (Scrape pot with knife; put water on mouth to make it soft and more clay at edge)
	6.2	Yah sb'albe slumil snuk' (Form roll of clay for neck)
	6.3	Yah tz'akbe sti?il (Stick it on the mouth)
	6.4	Yah šlihk sb'isbe te yutil (Begin to smooth it inside)
	6.5	Yah šlihk stuisbe sti?il (Even the edge)

(*cont.*)

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
	6.6	Yah lihk sb'is ta snukul (Smooth the edge)
	6.7	Yah lihk spusko?el sok nukul (Double over the edge with leather piece)
	6.8	Ya sb?albeko?el (Roll down lip of jug)
	6.9	Ya sibetal yutil (Spread it out inside)
	6.10	Ya ya?be sbelbel lumil (Put little pieces on edge where the neck is stuck on)
7th day	7.	Yah ya?be sčikin (Make the handles [ears])
	7.1	Ya sb'albe slumil (Roll the clay)
	7.2	Ya sp'is ?oŝeb (Measure out three pieces)
	7.3	Ya tzakbe sčikin (Stick on ears)
	7.4	Ya sku?be sčikin (Press on ears)
	7.5	Ya spusbe (Double over)
	7.6	Ya sb'isb'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (Smooth with little finger [child of the hand])
	7.7	Ya sb'isbe sčikin sok sme?sk'ab (Smooth with thumb [mother of hand])
	7.8	Ya sčulbe lek sok sme? sk'ab (Spread it out with thumb [mother of hand])
8th day	8.	Yah smes ta k'ib' sok ?ul (Wash the pot with corn grind)
9th day	9.	Yah tz'ibawe kib' (Design pots)
10th day	10.	Čik'omahel (Fire pottery)
	10.1	Ya ya?be sčute?al ?a k'ib'e yu?un mak swok'a (Put down boards and accompany pottery in order that it does not break)
	10.2	Stos' si?wok (Chop wood)
	10.3	Ya šlihk sk'ak'al (Light fire)
	10.4	Ya holtik si? (Take off wood)
	10.5	Yah ta sik'ub ya him lok'el (Cool and take off wood)

• Same term used for grinding corn; motion similar.

The segmentation of activities shows that in a major schema such as pottery-making, similar motions are found at different levels, modified by direction in which motion occurs (up or down) or by the part of the pot being worked on. The classification of such motions simplifies teaching. Some of the motions included in Table 11 are classified with behavior in other contexts. For example. kneading the sand and clay (2.5 *sk'u*) is expressed by the same verb used for grinding corn, and a very similar motion is involved. *Tz'ib'ayel,* or painting the designs, also refers to writing.

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The word for the act by which a tube of clay is formed, *ya sb'al*, has the connotation of creativity. In the *pat?o?tan*, a prayer form with many variations which introduces ceremonials, informants explain the terms *sb'al lum* and *sb'al ?ač'al* as a reference to the creation of man's body formed out of soil and mud by the ancestors. Sometimes the verb *sb'al* is used instead of the usual word for planted, *tz'un*, to refer to the seeding of crops.

The parts of pottery are metaphorically equated to those of the body; the belly of the pot and the neck, ears, and mouth all have parallels in English metaphors. But among the Indians, pottery also has a soul. Metal or enamel containers do not have souls as do gourds and handmade pottery.

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TABLE 11. Classification of Motions in Pottery Production

Motion *	*Step* †	*Content*
Sb'is + (smooth +)		
-mo?el (raise)	3.5	Pressing walls of base with curved index finger inside pot against flattened fingers outside, working clay upward
te yutil (inside)	6.4	Smoothing interior of vessel
ta snukel (its neck)	6.6	Smoothing neck with piece of leather
-b'e ščikin sok yal sk'ab (its ears with "child finger")	7.6	Smoothing handles on inside with little finger
-b'e ščikin sok sme? (its ears with "mother finger")	7.7	Smoothing handles on outside with thumb
Šyub' + (shape +)		
-mo?el (raise)	5, 5.2, 5.8	Shape and raise pot upward
Tzak + (stick +)		
yah tzak (stick on)	4.1	Stick on tube of clay to hardened base
-šyubmo?el (shape and raise)	5.2	Stick on another tube of clay to side, shape it upward
šan (another)	5.6	Add another tube of clay to side
-b'e sti?il (mouth)	6.3	Add roll of clay to hardened mouth
-b'e ščikin (ears)	7.3	Add measured, flattened tube of clay to walls of pot for handles
Swol + (make a ball +)		

(cont.)

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Motion •	*Step* †	*Context*
yah swol (make a ball)	2.6, 3.1	In mixing sand with clay, finish by making oval ball; also preliminary to making base, form ball
Spus + (roll +)		
yah lihk spusko?el (begins to roll down)	6.7	Turn down lip of neck
yah spusb'e sčikin (doubles over ears)	7.5	Curve tube of clay over to form handle
Stuis + (cut +)		
-b'e sti?il (edge)	3.7	Push clay with thumb; even edge by removing higher levels of clay at upper edge of base
" " "	4.5	Same, but edge is top of half-formed pot
" " "	6.5	Same, but edge is top of opening of jug
B'al + (make a tube +)		
ya sb'al te (make a tube of clay)	4.1	Build up sides with coils of clay
ya ya?b'e b'al lum (give a roll of clay)	5.1	Continue building up sides with coils of clay
yah sb'alb'eko?el (roll down)	6.8	Roll the tube of clay fitting on neck of pot to form a lip.

• Additives preceded by a hyphen form a single word with the verb stem; others are separate words in a phrase with the verb.
† Numbers refer to step numbers in Table 10.

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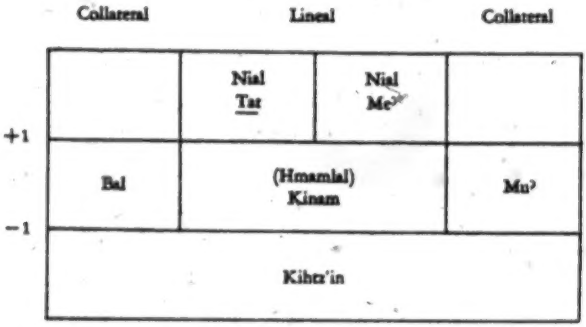
The nine stages of production provide a basis for the organization of the work in five-day intervals. The usual output is in lots of one dozen water jugs or ten bowls. This staging of production indicates an incipient rationalization of production that maximizes efficiency for the individual producer: a woman repeats the same limited sequence of motions for the lot. Leaving the item overnight permits drying and hardening so that in building up the pot there is greater stability. The staging of production also provides a basis for the division of labor in households with more than one producer. Certain stages require greater skill and/or discrimination: mixing the clay with sand requires the greatest discrimination to achieve the consistency which allows both maximum manipulability and strength and durability; building up and shaping the walls of the pot requires the maximum skill and dexterity. These tasks are performed by the more ex-

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as mu? and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as ha?wan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives



Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al*, using the combined 796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate 796 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still 174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or 592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms 197 *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised 192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

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608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil
571 of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
621 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
602 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
794 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
608 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

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[192] parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to as *k'ol*, the last one.

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182 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

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434 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

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162 TABLE 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

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Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *č'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

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Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?is-petb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

Baptism

After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A ceremony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

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in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iʧ ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

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tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place.

The betrothal, or *č'om*, is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om*, mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om*, or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread.

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?il' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company.

At the final gathering, called the *?il' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advicē. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *l?awayi*), is

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they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

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giving hot medicines for hot diseases. If this is discovered, he will be subject to accusations of witchcraft. The relatives of the patient are present as witnesses "to see what medicines are given."

In the case of infections, the curer cauterizes the wound, a process called "take out the odor." First he smells the wound, checking on the severity of the infection. He mixes chile and hot charcoal and puts them on the wound to "cause the evil to rise to the surface." He then sucks on the wound, and spits out a "worm" which indicates the kind of evil caused by witchcraft. He covers the wound with mentholated cream and binds it. The patient is kept covered.

Calling the soul. The major effort in soul-calling (tamohel) is concentrated on preparing the patient and the house for the return of his soul. This is done for illnesses caused by fear and resulting in soul-loss. Here a knowledge of the setting is crucial to understand each act. An arch of pine boughs is set at the center post because it is here that the souls of the inmates of the house cluster (over the square hole at the foot of the post where the sheep's head is buried during the inauguration of the house). Thirteen candles, including a large, 50-cent one in the center and twelve 20-cent ones, are set before the arch. If the patient is being cured in the house of the curer, which happens when he goes to another town for a cure, the arch is put near the door in order that his soul not mingle with the souls of the curer's household. The patient is laid out on a mat in front of the curing arch, or if he is a small child, he is held in the arms of his mother. The curing is scheduled so that the arrival of the soul occurs when it will not be seen by people passing in the street. This would cause it embarrassment, and it would not enter the house. The patient continues to sleep under the arch each night until it is removed nine days later. As he sleeps, his soul enters in a dream and is reunited with the body. A guitar and seed rattle are played continuously during the ceremony to make the spirits of guests, patient, and house "of one heart." Many rounds of liquor are served in order to "finish with our money" and thus reduce the envy of the one who caused the witchcraft.

The soul-calling is combined with a cold bath to cure the illness. The patient is disrobed, and the curer brushes him with branches of plants

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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

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794 tween civil and religious authorities. They are in charge of the fiestas for the saints whom they represent: San Francisco, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and Sacramento. The internal ranking of this set of officials is based on time of entry. This varies in the annual cycle since the new alférez enters just before the fiesta for which he will be responsible. He will be expected to give deference to the three who have preceded him during
• [192] the year. The terms applied to this fluctuating ranking system in order of highest to lowest are *hilon ta pasaro* (remains as past), *pasaro* (past official), *ščebal ʔalʼ ʔalperes* (second new alférez), and *ʔalʼ ʔalperes* (new alférez).

794 Outside of the traditional religious hierarchy are roles performed by
562 functionaries on the basis of specific skills. These include the fiscal, assistant to the priest, and the *meʔeletik*, women who serve as prayer-reciters. The fiscal takes orders from the priest when the latter is in town, and in the absence of the priest he directs the activities of the mayordomos within the church. He is chosen on the basis of his knowledge of Spanish and willingness to perform the priests' bidding. He remains in office as long as he wishes, or until he is forcibly retired by the priest or by the mayordomos. When retired, he has an ex officio role saying prayers at funerals, and is often called upon for house ceremonies and as godfather in baptisms. The retired fiscales attend mass more often than the rest of the townspeople and sit in the front near the altar. The prayer-reciters are usually widowed or single women of the town whom the lay sisters have organized as support in responding to the catechism.

621 794 [192] The officials who have served in five posts in the civil hierarchy and six posts in the religious hierarchy become *pasaroetik*, the Tzeltal rendering of *pasados* or former officials. Any one of these men may be eligible to serve as one of two principales, one chosen from Alannantik and one from Ahk'olnantik. They remain in office until they are too old to serve or until death. Each of the outlying barrios has two principales chosen from among men who have served in office.

Entry Into and Exit from Office

621 666 The constitution assures local autonomy in the election of civil officials. The officials of Tzoʔontahal, including the two principales, president,

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly.

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election.

The household head enters religious office first as *nič'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal*, or assistant, next as *tatil*, or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria*, or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He

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only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later.

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the pat?o?tan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo."

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and ?koltawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the pat?o?tan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*me?ba?al, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kač'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings

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621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[273] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[273] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanebetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

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621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

621 794 527 273 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion*, from the Spanish *acción*, the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

• [192]

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *ʔultatik ta ʔulčan*, and the lord spirits of the church, *ʔultatik ta ʔulna*. The prefix *ʔul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the *ʔuleletik* (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s*.

776 177 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This [191] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Niʔanil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

• [192] TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Niʔanil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'oš (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ʔihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meʔ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meʔtikčič ʔu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 539 177 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meʔtik Čič ʔu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oš, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oš, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

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Brother was in heaven, there never was night. He never rested from his work.

One day K'oł said to his brother, "Let us go for a walk. We will get honey and eat it. I know where there is a tree." He told his mother to make tortillas to take with them. She made many tortillas for K'oł to eat, and in addition made two small tortillas.

His mother asked K'oł, "Why do you want to go out walking?"

He replied, "I am going to find honey. Wait for me to return."

K'oł and his two older brothers walked until they arrived at the tree with the honey. The Elder Brother said, "I shall climb very high."

K'oł said, "I too will climb."

The Elder Brother said, "Do not climb. Wait and I shall throw the honey down. You cannot climb the tree, Šut" [for this is what they called K'oł].

K'oł just waited for his brother to throw down the honey. K'oł got very angry because the Elder Brother just threw down beeswax.[1] An animal entered the trunk of the tree and started eating the root. The tree shook, frightening the two brothers. They called out, "What are you doing, Šut?"

"Nothing. I am not doing anything. Why don't you give me good honey?"

"Go on and drink it," the older brothers said.

"I don't like it. It isn't any good," replied K'oł.

He did nothing for a while. Then the tree fell. K'oł saw the tree fall. He went and got the two small tortillas his mother had packed in his lunch, and he put one on the Elder Brother's nose. His brother turned into a pig. He tried to put the other tortilla on the Second Brother's nose, but he could not seize him. The Second Brother turned into a wild boar, and fled into the forest. He brought the Elder Brother to his house. When he arrived at his house with his little pig, he said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a little pig to raise."

"Where did you find it?" his mother asked.

"I just brought it," replied K'oł.

1. In recounting this passage, the narrator laughed, and when I asked why, said that the word for beeswax is also the word for excrement. She commented that K'oł was very bright because he would not tolerate this.

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the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins.

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops.

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil.

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story.

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121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzo?ontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
• [192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna*, while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 621 182 Coherence of the role system in Tzo?ontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 554 562 *Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *?unin*, also a term for [192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather [601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *?alal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nil'an*. Sex distinction is

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made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *kantxil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in kerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ?ačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *kihtx'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *?antx wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *?antx*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winik* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *me?elil*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *me?il*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

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does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nič'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal).

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Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʃ?awai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

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Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation [192] of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan [193] word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

196 *Morality.* Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are 577 summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the 626 code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

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sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

Conformity and deviance. Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʔ rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

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Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation.

The Sense of Time

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal*, is derived from the word for day, *k'al*. Time began when k'oš, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?il*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past.

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn.

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers.

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

[R 221-A)

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APPENDIX 3A — SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČ'AʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
	NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
	ʔAK'SIETIK, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
	SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
	AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
	YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yočebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
	SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
	ʔALPERESETIK, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

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	KRINSIPALETIK, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*TEKLUM*, Village (people) *Spisil Meʔeletik*, all the women *Spisil Winketik*, all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
	ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK, new officials		Make two turns in procession
	ʔALPERESETIK, alfereces		Lead procession with banners
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK*, mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	ʔAČ' AʔTELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*ʔAČ' AʔTELETIK*, new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

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APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women Me?ilk'op, woman speaker	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos